PEACE NEWS

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"No institution does so much damage to international relations as the press"

PACIFISM AND THE PRESS

India's example

JUST back from a tour of India, China and the United States, Muriel Lester was given a warm welcome at Fellowship House last week, by a mixed audience of Indians, Americans and Britons, eager to hear something of her experience.

MURIEL LESTER

Back from a tour of India, China and the USA.

Lively and observant, entertaining and informative as ever, she described her trip across the Indian Ocean in a transport-ship, thirty to a cabin; her reunion with Mahatma Gandhi, and the visits she had made on his instructions, to some of the remotest, riot-stricken areas of the North-West and Eastern Bengal.

She drew a vivid picture of Gandhi's own approach to the Moslems and Hindus of the countryside. As in the days of the Bihar earthquake, she reported, his entire effort was directed to turning the minds of men and women from contemplation of the past—their own sufferings and ruined homes — to the demands of present and future, the "thrilling task of reconciliation and reconstruction" that still lay before them, demanding all their energy and devotion. She drew a pregnant contrast between the publicity given to Gandhi's post-prayer meeting addresses in the Indian papers, and the conspiracy of silence which surrounds every effort of pacifists here in Britain and America.

FOLLOWERS OF GANDHI

Gandhi was not alone in his aspirations. In all parts of the country his followers were carrying on the same mission of reconciliation. She herself had heard Dr. Chakravarty exhorting the villagers to be men, and stand out against violence; and she paid high tribute to one Irish Catholic magistrate in particular, who was striving to unite Hindus, Moslems and Christians in obedience to the one God they all worshipped under different names, and in service to the starving peasantry.

She had travelled hundreds of miles in China, over roadless country, to visit a co-operative school in distant Kansu Province, where the source of the Yellow River was being harnessed for power, and two hundred boys were being taught how to make rugs and pottery, utilising the wonderfully preserved designs on the walls of an ancient pilgrims' hostel. The school had been evacuated nine hundred and twenty miles during the worst winter of the Japanese invasion.

In regions less remote from the civil war, methods of conscription have been introduced recalling those of the press-gang. Boys of sixteen and seventeen are snatched off the streets to be drafted into the opposing armies. In one hospital, a friend of hers had found two such lads, holding hands Chinese-fashion, and on enquiry, learned that they were Communist and Kuomintang conscripts respectively: "there is equal cruelty and callousness on both sides."

CHINA'S TOLERANCE

Yet even in such regions are to be found people "too busy to be depressed, too willing to be God's footballs ever to be embittered." A nurse in one of the hospitals at Tientsin, who had been forbidden by the Japanese to treat the addicts of opium and other drugs, had nevertheless insisted upon feeding Japanese prisoners, and counted it an honour to have entertained Kagawa.

The speaker recalled how Chiang Kai Shek, alone among the victors of the war, had reminded his people on VJ Day of the sorrows of the defeated, and admonished them to do nothing that would magnify these. Japanese prisoners in China, she said, except for a few war criminals, were being given exemplary treatment.

DAMAGE BY THE PRESS

Muriel Lester was followed by Devere Allen, the editor of Worldover Press. He took up the theme of the relative publicity accorded to pacifist undertakings in India and Britain or America. "No institution," he declared, "does so much damage to international relations as the Press." Fourteen years ago he had been astonished by the picture of life in the USA conveyed in European newspapers: Chicago gangsters and Hollywood scandals had overshadowed everything else. Later, returning to the States, he had realised that the news of Europe in American papers was only one degree better.

A BALANCED DIET

Worldover Press had been started in order to provide the public with a more wholesome and balanced diet, to tell people what work of positive value was being undertaken by the nations, and even by pacifists: and despite the gloomiest forebodings, the Press had had some striking success. Six hundred and sixty publications in forty countries drew on the material it distributed.

He went on to speak of the violence endemic in Latin American civil life —a violence which, contrary to expectations, reached its maximum just where modern techniques and education had extended furthest. His conclusion was that "the germs of violence lie deep in our contemporary civilisation, and must be isolated there, in order to be effectively treated."

Readers will be glad to know that Muriel Lester will be contributing a series of impressions of her tour, to Peace News, in the course of the ensuing weeks.

The Marshall plan in perspective

COMMENTARY
by
WILFRED WELLOCK

THE events of the past week have made it possible to put the Marshall Plan in a truer perspective, to see its significance in the American economy and to relate it to the world economic situation more accurately.

As I anticipated some weeks ago, the Marshall Plan has completed the wrench between the Communist and the "Democratic" blocs in Europe. Nevertheless a measure of contact is to be maintained between them under UNO in the hope, on the part of Britain and the USA, that the situation may yet be saved, and by Russia in the belief that it is good policy to know what your enemy is thinking and, if possible, to divide him.

Reduced tempo

THE slowing down of the tempo of the Plan is significant. The seriousness of this decision cannot be denied, as the situation in Europe is desperate, while American dollars are everywhere running out, owing largely to the fact that it now takes 30 dollars to buy what 20 bought only a short time ago. Nevertheless, the delay is inevitable. The American public, reared on dollar worship cannot be expected to sanction parting with several billion dollars, which may never be returned, without very convincing reasons. If appealed to on a straight issue of dire human need the American public is capable of great generosity, but a sacrificial policy covering a few years is a very different proposition; and the Presidential Election takes place next year.

U.S. needs the plan

THE plain fact is that the Marshall Plan is as necessary to the U.S. as it is to Europe, even if not a single dollar of it is ever returned, both for political and economic reasons. Clifton Uttley, in his BBC American Commentary on July 17, said that without question Congress would support the Plan if for no other reason than that it was necessary to American security and self-interest. But very few Americans know this, and they have to be told.

On July 14 Secretary of State George Marshall told a Conference of State Governors at Salt Lake City that America must either help Europe to its feet or reconcile itself to a drift in government away from the principles of democracy. He went on to say that America must protect her "incalculable stake" in Europe by enlarged economic aid, and declared that

> "there is no blinking the fact that this country now stands at a turning point in its relations with its traditional friends among the nations of the world."

He might have added that, having helped to divide Europe ideologically, the U.S. dare not risk the political consequences of leaving Europe to stew in its own juice.

Turning to the economic issue, it certainly does seem strange that the U.S., the wealthiest country in the world and almost completely self-supporting, should be so deeply concerned about the capture of world markets. The fact is, however, that the American economy is founded on a tremendous production potential which can only be kept going with the aid of big and growing world markets. Billions of dollars are invested in that economy, and the investors do not want to lose their money, nor the interest it is capable of winning. They also know that when their industrial investments cease to earn dividends, there will be a social upheaval in the U.S.

Demand for new markets

LET us not deceive ourselves therefore. The European "need" Report now being drawn up will be subjected to the most careful and detailed analysis by American financiers and economists, while the final Plan will aim at harmonising maximum aid to Europe with maximum support of the American economy. The latter aim may soon become important, as American world markets are beginning to suffer as the result of her high and rising prices, the rapid fall of dollar balances all round, and the stepping up of commodity

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

WAR AGAINST FREEDOM IN INDONESIA

WE do not know all the facts behind the new outbreak of war in Indonesia. The events leading up to a war are invariably distorted and obscured. While the hollow brass hats of militarism ring with even hollower slogans, the truth is tucked away inside the portfolios of politicians and the budgets of high finance.

Certain facts, indeed, stand out plain. As long ago as May 18, our Netherlands correspondent, H. J. Van Wijk, drew attention to the stimulation by the Dutch Government of "separatist movements and fifth-columnists in the Republic, the carving out of a Dutch puppet state in West Borneo, without consulting the Republic, as agreed in the Linggadjati Pact, and especially, the extension of the Dutch army in Indonesia to 30,000 soldiers, far above the number agreed upon"—though even he did not count the bombing aircraft being prepared to blast Indonesian villages.

In justification of their moves, the Dutch Conservatives pointed to broken commercial agreements, and the appointment by the Indonesian Republic of its own representatives abroad, without consultation or regard for the foreign policy of Holland. But it is only too obvious that neither the Dutch nor the Indonesians expected the Linggadjati Pact to be permanent. The cause of the present disaster has been the determination of the Dutch to restore their absolute sovereignty, and the Indonesians perhaps, to secure it.

Our sympathy flies naturally to the Indonesians. The country belonged to them in the first place; their nationalism has been fomented by years of European exploitation; and it was they, not the Dutch, who were taking steps to lay the whole situation before UNO. Indeed, this Dutch aggression may well have been timed to forestall their move.

Nevertheless, this is not, what the Indonesians are calling it, a "holy war." There is no such thing as a holy war. Wars are unholy, whatever their ideals and apparent justification. Therefore, as peace-makers, we call on the United Nations to act promptly, and do everything in their power to procure a settlement by consent; and as pacifists, we would, if we could, call on the Dutch conscripts to refuse to fight, and the Indonesians to lay down their arms, resist the imperialism of Europe by the means which Gandhi has taught Asia, and secure not merely independence, but freedom.

We do not know all the causes of this war; but we do know, from bitter experience, that whatever the rights and wrongs, they do not compare with the wrong of wholesale massacre, with its aftermath of bitterness, persecution and murder. It is not the speed with which independence is secured that counts in the long run, but the means with which it is secured. Let the Indonesians contrast the example of Burma; and the Dutch, who resisted German imperialism, be no less defiant toward their own.

Vera Brittain in Germany

MISS VERA BRITTAIN, authoress and sponsor of the PPU, will be lecturing in Berlin and the British Zone during the first half of August. Her subjects are, "Facing the Future" and "The Progress of Women: their Work of Liberty and Peace."

German readers who would like to attend these lectures can obtain details of time and place from the British authorities in the Zone.

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PERSPECTIVES

THREADING our way through that "full and free traffic in news and opinion"—of the Clements Case, Taxi Bandits and Women Who Died in Lovers' Arms—which, as an Evening Standard editorial declares, makes newsprint one of "the most precious of the nation's supplies," we chanced lately upon a scientific discovery which must rank among the most important of this decade. An American chemist, so ran the brief report, has at last learned how to synthetise proteins, in such a way that many kinds of food, furs and other commodities may in future be obtained without recourse to animal, or even vegetable cultivation.

We are all familiar with those wonderful tablets which used to be issued to the troops in Burma, one gram of which was reputed equivalent to so many dozen turkeys, plum puddings and presumably, kegs of brandy; the prospect of our grandchildren celebrating Christ's Nativity around the great Yule-radiator with holly-decorated pills is not altogether novel. But the present discovery, if true, opens up even more alarming vistas. For not only the fur-trade (whose reeking cruelties no-one outside Bond Street will regret), but farming itself, can, it appears, be superseded. The land will give way to the lab., the plough to the production-belt, Hodge to Professors Haldane.

"You can't put the clock back."—We anticipate the clockwork reply. But if only an atavistic conservatism can dream of curbing the inventive fertility of mankind, we may as well resign ourselves to the Great Bang: whereas, if we admit the possibility even of eventual disarmament, we must, by the same reasoning, allow that peaceful invention may be controlled. And assuredly sooner or later, if humanity is to be truly human, a limit will have to be drawn. The true well-being of man will have to be defined in concrete terms, the forces of production subordinated to determined ends.

The great question is, who can be entrusted to draw it, and how can it be enforced? So far, the only authority which has attempted this dual task has been the Roman Catholic Church. But the Western world owes its present configuration precisely to its repudiation of the Church. Galileo's collision with the Inquisition may be said to dramatise our modern predicament.

Either we must acknowledge, after all, the right of an institution to enforce its decisions without challenge or criticism, or we must make the individual conscience truly sovereign in society—that is to say, we must make our democracy the master, instead of the servant, of technology.

Nobody who has learned from experience the confusions surrounding the word "conscience" will be sanguine as to this second alternative. But there is no escape from the choice: since not to choose is itself to choose—the worst of both worlds, spiritual authoritarianism for the sake of unrestricted technology. It might be as well if we stopped dismissing such considerations as "abstract," or even "long-term," and began to realise that we live in an age when the long-term issues are becoming the short-term as well.

POLICE MEASURES IN INDONESIA

by ROY SHERWOOD

OFFICIALLY, the killing which has started in Java is not war; it is described by the Dutch, with honest intent, as a series of police measures—which does not make it any the less deplorable.

But there are other factors which make it even more of a tragedy, outstanding among which is the fact that last Saturday's rupture of the long protracted negotiations was not primarily due to incompatability between the Dutch and Indonesian viewpoints, but to a lack of mutual confidence which even the goodwill of Dr. van Mook, the Netherlands Lt. Governor-General, and of Mr. Soetan Sjahrir, until a few weeks ago the Republic's Prime Minister, could not overcome permanently.

ROOT CAUSES

The real trouble goes far back, to the days of the war, and even before that. At a time when the Dutch were still believers in the heaven-appointed rights of the white man in "colonial" countries, they made a life-long enemy of Dr. Soekarno, leader of the nationalist movement of Java. The Japanese occupation gave Dr. Soekarno, not perhaps quite the chance for which he had waited, but at least a half of it. He used, or tried to use, the Japanese, and they used him. They gave him every opportunity to preach his hatred of the Dutch—and to a smaller extent, his nationalism—but they never allowed him a rein free enough to narrow that nationalism down to any differentiation between Javanese and Japanese. In other words, he was used as a tool to arouse anti-white feelings, and to work them up to fever-heat. He, on his side, was animated by what he still professes: a genuine nationalism for Java and Indonesia in which collaboration with the Japanese was meant as only a stepping-stone. When liberation came, Dr. Soekarno stood in Dutch eyes as the absolute personification of collaboration with the Japanese, and it took a long time before they could see him in any other light. Fortunately, a more acceptable negotiator on the Indonesian side came to the fore, in the personality of Mr. Soetan Sjahrir. This, however, was not the only fact to make the beginning of any understanding between the two sides difficult.

DUTCH MISTAKES

If the Dutch mistook the enormously strengthened nationalism of the Javanese—strengthened inevitably by having witnessed the victories of a yellow race over the white overlord—the Javanese were desperately slow in realising that the returning Dutch had undergone a change of heart; and the more conservative elements of Holland were nearly as slow in adapting themselves to the progressive pace of Dr. van Mook, their own Lt. Governor-General of Indonesia. The negotiations between the two sides dragged on for months, with general world-opinion favouring the aims and feelings of the Javanese, and Holland taking her time to adjust herself to new conditions. More than once, complete deadlock seemed to have been reached, and if it had not been for the outstanding personalities of Dr. van Mook on one side and Mr. Soetan Sjahrir on the other, aided on more than one occasion by Sir Archibald Clark Kerr (now Lord Inchcape) and Lord Killearn, the guns would have gone off long ago.

COMPROMISE REACHED

Finally a compromise was reached in the so-called Linggadjati Agreement. It was initialled by the two sets of negotiators as long ago as last November, but being a compromise, it was unfortunately capable of different degrees of interpretation. After many more weeks of often acrimonious discussion, the initialled agreement was at last signed on March 25. It now remained to put it into practice, and with that, a new crop of difficulties started. Of these, the main two concerned the police force stipulated for in the agreement, for the so-called transition period, until the end of next year, the other the cease-fire order, which the Indonesian President Dr. Soekarno, sitting at Djogjakarta, and always far less conciliatory than his Prime Minister Sjahrir, steadily refused to turn into a reality. While Dutch feeling hardened, and the Indonesian Delegation at Batavia, headed by Soetan Sjahrir, struggled for conciliation, the more extreme elements among the Republicans won the day at Djogjakarta: the Sjahrir Cabinet was forced into resignation. The new Cabinet announced on July 3, had the former Minister for Defence, Amir Sjarifoeddin at its head, in the double capacity of Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, and since its formation, innumerable notes, proposals and counter-proposals have been exchanged between the two sides. None brought a settlement any nearer. Now the Dutch say that they will themselves ensure the creation of the conditions in which the application of the principles which underlie the Linggadjati Agreement will become possible.

HELP OUR EXPORTS

EXPORTS and imports have reached a record figure we have just been told. It is also good to know that contributions to the PPU through the areas from the groups show an increase over the amount sent in for a similar period last year. Unfortunately this increase is counteracted by a decrease in the amounts received from individuals and through the fortnightly appeal in Peace News. Up to this time last year Headquarters Fund had reached £236. Today it is only £119.

We are indeed grateful to the readers of Peace News for the sums which they send in week by week, and we hope that we shall not be thought too importunate if we urge them, not only to continue their efforts, but to increase them. There is increasing need of help for Germany. We are spending money on special medical capsules, on sending out food parcels and clothing, on pressing the claims of PoWs for immediate freedom.

Plans are now being made for the special campaign against conscription. What we can do depends upon how much money is available to finance the campaign, subsidise meetings, produce leaflets and posters, etc.

Our activities are so varied that we know one or other must appeal to YOU. May we ask you to encourage us to go forward by a record week of gifts from readers of Peace News? "Our exports depend upon your imports."

MAUD ROWNTREE.
CORDER CATCHPOOL.
Joint Treasurers.

Contributions to Headquarter Fund since July 11: £2 0s. 6d. Year's total to date: £119 13s. 5d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Words of Peace - No. 216

LESSER ENDS

Power, of course, is no new aim. In the absence of religion, no doubt it can be directly pursued where before it was followed from behind a mask, hypocritically. But this is not all. Still we keep the religious feeling that satisfaction and honour are in living to serve. Wanting other gods, we serve the nation or democracy, or the ideal of a classless society. Here, you say, is nothing wrong. To many good ends besides religion, gladly and rightly, men have always given their lives. So we might yet, if we proceeded within a larger faith, controlling and qualifying. But practically, there is no such common faith. The lesser ends become absolute. To earth-bound things we give all the realities of service, even unto death. Other religions decline to private cults. God is no longer of public importance. He is replaced by what are, in fact, idolatries.

—"Journey to Understanding," Percy Redfern.

Colonial freedom

IT is puzzling to find your reviewers so impressed by the "difficulties" attending freedom in Nigeria—or anywhere else.

I do not know whether the people of Nigeria are fit for self-government. I do not know whether the British are, themselves. I do not consider myself a divinely appointed judge of either case. But I do know that so long as there are vested interests anywhere which are opposed to freedom, the people will always be found "politically backward," and their leaders "corrupt and unreliable."

The surprising thing is that the Labour Party, so long the target of such talk on the part of the Tories, finds nothing incongruous in maintaining Colonial imperialism by the same arguments once used to oppose adult suffrage in our own country.

History, however, is not a strong point among the Herrenfolk. I have just been reading Mr. Hannen Swaffer's admonitions to a Lesser Breed (Indians this time) in *India and the World* (July, 1947). He explains that Julius Caesar found Britain divided into "different Anglo-Saxon kingdoms — Mercia, Wessex and the rest," and that when the benificent Roman rule ended, "their departure was hastened by the nationalistic Boadicea." I mention this as a comment on the word "unreliable," with the suggestion that with such able historians at work we shall never find much difficulty in proving to our own satisfaction the deplorable backwardness of those it suits our interests to be held in subjection. And the Enlightened British will swallow it.

LETTERS

But democracy and honesty apart, how does one rule a colony, except by force? If we disarm tomorrow, does any pacifist seriously imagine that Nigerians, or any other colonials would continue to obey rulers whom they never chose, or laws to which they never assented? One of the most puzzling things to me has always been the number of pacifists who believe that one can dispense with armed force, and still continue to enjoy privileges won by violence or fraud.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.
20 Jubilee Place, Chelsea, S.W.3.

Pacifism in practice

WORKERS for World peace everywhere must feel very thankful for the testimony of Edwin Foley. His basically simple statement of our principles, together with his exceedingly relevant experiences are what we need. Pacifists generally are far too doubtful as to what the results of peace in action might mean. *Mr. Foley's experiences are typical of very many.*

Ruth Fry's valuable "Victories without Violence" need reading and re-reading. Personally, I have found great help in the writings on "War" by the Quaker, Jonathan Dymond, whose classic essay is still obtainable from Friends' House.

True, we must not forget that the real Pacifist must be ready to die rather than kill, but paradoxically, when men or communities utterly abandon themselves to this principle, the words of Jesus become realistic. "He that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it." This truth can be, and has been manifested in more ways than one.

At any rate, what are the "risks" of Pacifism, when set beside the *certainty of destruction* marked out on the course suggested by atomic militarists?

JOSEPH JACKSON.
19 Coombe Gardens,
Ensbury Park, Bournemouth.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

KINDNESS WHICH KILLED

A cameo of after-war by

Dr. ROWLAND JONES

Vicar of Denton, Manchester, and an original signatory of the Peace Pledge Union. In a recent open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Sunday Pictorial on the National Day of Prayer, he asked the Archbishop if he really meant the nation to live according to the standards of the Ten Commandments and the teaching of Christ, since this would imply the abolition of the armed forces.

"If this is what you meant by following the precepts of Christ," Dr. Jones concluded, "we ought to do it and risk the consequences."

THE scene is a vast Transit Camp for German Prisoners of War. There is a "certain liveliness" amongst the chocolate-clothed men, now free from the patches of prison-hood which for two years they have had to wear in England. Snatches of songs pierce the morning air. These men are on their way home, to wives and little children, whom they have not seen, many of them for four years. They do well to sing.

Suddenly the singing dies. The chocolate men press forward to a gate where a new batch of prisoners, bound for home, are pressing into the camp; they are struggling down from lorries and from carts, and a long-prolonged piteous whistle breaks from the men who have just been singing.

The sight is horrible. They are a transport of Germans just home from PoW camps in Russia. Their heads are bald, every vestige of hair having been shaven off in Russia. Their faces are pale and hollow-cheeked. Their bodies look like bundles of bone held together by stretched parched skin. They wear no chocolate tunics, but only rags. Most of them have bare feet, or else wooden soles tied round with cloth.

THE MAN FROM RUSSIA

A group of English visitors from the camp quickly drew out cameras to take pictures, certain evidence of the truth of this horror.

The chocolate men from England helped the tattered slaves from Russia into shelter.

One of them, a tall man with a mass of jet-black hair, helped a ragged figure into a near-by hut, and questioned him.

"Where have you come from?" he asked.

"We have been working in the mines of Voroshilovgrad."

"Tell me of your experiences."

The man from Russia hesitated until he had looked round the hut, to see if they were alone. Then, in a low, broken voice he told his story.

"We were driven to our works by armed escorts every morning. Blows and proddings with rifles went on all the eight miles every day. A bowl of soup and a piece of hard bread was all we had in the day. If we stopped working, we were beaten. At the end of the day we were driven back the eight miles again, with the same treatment. Every fortnight we were examined by doctors, mostly women, to see if we were fit for work. As long as there was flesh on our buttocks, we were sent off to the mines."

The prisoner from England asked if any of the men died.

THE DEATH ROLL

"I have been at the same Camp since the war ended. We began with 2,400 men. When I left, there were only 400. They were buried eight and ten at a time, in a low, flat hole in a desolate field. The living ones had to bury them. Punishments are common, for those who do not work hard enough. They are locked in a tiny room for thirty days, with no table or form or bed. Every half-hour, the guards empty buckets of water over the floors, to stop the prisoners from sitting down. In the winter, the water quickly becomes ice. At the end of the thirty days, most of the men go to the hospital and die."

A look of unspeakable agony and vivid anger covered the face of the tall, black-haired man from England. Just before he left England for home, news had come that his younger brother had died in a Russian PoW Camp.

The poor wretch from Russia went on with his story.

"For the last fortnight before we came home we were given half-a-pound of yeast daily, to make our bodies look better."

The English Commandant of the camp was moved at the sight of these men. He gave his orders.

"Give them double rations."

It was meant well. The men ate ravenously. But it was kindness which killed. Next morning two were dead, and hundreds of them sick with agonizing pain.

The black-haired fellow from England travelled home with six hundred of these poor creatures from Russia. At every stop, they rushed to the water-taps.

"You will make yourself ill, drinking so much," he said.

"Stop your stupid talking," they replied. "We saw thousands die in Russia, and hundreds on our way home. What do a few extra ones matter?"

Many of them were left dead at the railway stations. Those who reach home will never forget. They will be ripe for the next war. So cruelty breeds cruelty, and hate breeds hate, till men learn a new way, which was called, two thousand years ago, "A new Commandment." Men still fear to try it.

PROGRESS, OR—

THE DESCENT OF MAN (20th century view)

PASTORAL

THE story of the appearance of the Risen Lord by the sea-shore of Galilee, John XXI, is a remarkable and very inspiring example of the power of Christianity to blend the human and divine. Many expositors have suspected that this story is a somewhat crude addition to the completed gospel. They have not, in consequence, given it the reverent study it deserves. But if the challenge to accept the story as an indispensable part of the whole be taken up by the eager Bible-reader, he may well find himself amply repaid for his faith.

For example, if he will relate the twenty-first chapter to the first (the Prologue particularly) he may be encouraged to go on and measure up every other chapter by this mysterious twenty-first, concluding thereafter that, instead of being an awkward addition to the Gospel, it stands as the grand and successful climax of the writer's purpose.

The Gospel's purpose

That purpose was to make manifest to his readers the oneness of the human and the divine, wrought by the love of the God-Man Jesus Christ. The more truly human we conceive the story to be, the more it becomes for us the means of insight into the divinity of the triumphant Son of God, whereas the more supernatural and other-worldly we see it to be, the more simple and characteristically human is the Risen Christ revealed.

The story affirms Christ's Lordship over both worlds, temporal and eternal, and the power of the Risen Christ to cause a gracious consorting of the two, whereby realism and idealism no longer do each other violence, cancelling each other out in enmity, but are both obedient to the sceptre of Christ.

In His presence the enforcement of the "either—or" logic of man's frail intelligence is inhibited by a fine gentility, which makes us ashamed, as it made Peter ashamed, of our nakedness.

A human situation

Notice then, how very human is the situation of these tired fishermen, who having spent all night at sea, had only emty nets to show for their toil. Consider how disgruntled and disillusioned they were in going "a-fishing." They thought they had seen grim reality cast down, to ruin their fair dreams of a kingdom. Facing facts, they had gone back to the trade they had left at the beckoning of Jesus, to fish for men. But turning realistic only brought them further pains of failure. The empty nets shown by the rising sun were an unhappy reminder of the three years' toil which had ended in the Crucifixion. The nets were not the only sight that morning brought to light, however, for He was stood by the sea-shore, and He hailed them.

"Children, have ye any meat," as the A. V. translates, is hopelessly inadequate as it stands, for conveying the deep and real humanity of that address. The original Greek suggests a kind of jocular bonhomie—"Ahoy there, lads!" Whatever "worlds unknown" this Risen Lord has wot of, He most courteously engages Himself to minister creature comfort as though it were something which mattered—so a fire, and so also a meal.

Yet in the midst of this affectionate brotherliness, and the fellowship of the morning meal, there was the profound awe of His Glory. "None of the disciples durst ask Him, Who art Thou, knowing it was the Lord" But that was not a restraint to their humanity — only their rudeness as men bitterly disillusioned.

A serious error

Thirty years or so ago, Theology made a great deal of the humanity of Jesus during His earthly life. In retrospect, it looks like an unfortunate attempt to make the Gospel creditable and attractive to an age arrogantly preoccupied with this world, whereby Christianity was compromised to serve the idolatry of humanism. It was a serious error, and the suffering for it has been serious. But it would be lamentable if reaction should take the form of a strident insistence on the austere sovereignty of God; a neo-Calvinism which would restore the balance of "other worldliness" at the price of all respect for human values.

What the writer of the fourth Gospel seems to teach by this climax of its final chapter, is that true humanism finds its sure foundation in what Paul calls "the power of the resurrection," and that the true gospel is found in an "other worldly humanism."

Perhaps the Christian pacifist is more exposed than other Christians to the temptation to be awkward and ill-fitting in his social relationship, so great have been his disappointments. But he will do neither himself nor his cause any good, if he allows fidelity to his ideal to lead him away from the duty of being a real human being among his fellows. Let him drink of the lovely chalice which John offers, in this story of the Risen Lord, who had not forgotten, but indeed, seemed to know better than ever, the way with men.

JACQUES.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endosement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

GEORGE M. Ll. DAVIES discusses

THE ALTERNATIVES TO WAR

propounded by pacifists and non-pacifists

PACIFISTS reject war, but do they offer a clear alternative? When Lord Parmoor presented the alternative of the Protocol to the League in 1923, the thesis accepted was fairly clear—that the signatory nations should bind themselves to all-in Arbitration, to an immediate conference on disarmament, and that these two steps would bring the fact of international security.

The French thesis had been the provision of military sanctions against the aggressor first: this they said would provide the sense of security, after which matters of dispute would be subject to arbitration. The fall of the Labour Government in 1924, and the refusal of its successors to ratify the Protocol, necessitated another alternative, the Locarno Pact, which, in fact, did not prevent war.

Subsequently, eminent advocates of Peace like Lord Davies of Llandinum, Lord Robert Cecil and the League of Nations Union, turned more and more to the idea of the International Police Force advocated by the New Commonwealth Society and supported by Mr. Winston Churchill and other men of eminence in Church and State. "Law not War" is the slogan which has continued to hold the field in political Peace policy and the United Nations, unto this hour.

With the unity of the United Nations more fiction than fact, the organisation of an International Police Force is equally remote from realisation. Nothing could exceed the pessimism of the New Commonwealth Journal upon the preliminary report of the international military experts set to formulate a plan.

Failure of the League

The virtual unanimity of the League members against Japan's aggression in Manchuria, or Mussolini's aggression in Abyssinia and the economic sanctions applied half-heartedly to the latter proved quite ineffectual. With the modern weapons of high-altitude bombing and Atomic warfare, the possibility of discriminating attack or defence from aggressors becomes more and more fictitious. The gangsters will have their hidden dug-outs till the end, and the helpless multitudes can only remove them by assassination, when the democratic possibilities of popular discussion and judgment are paralysed by panic and propaganda. General Eisenhower and Air Marshall Harris have drawn the moral of this momentum to destruction

> **"Either the nations work together for the common good or one by one they will perish slowly in withering decay or quickly under the impact of total war as is the more likely way of the future. Until all others are ready with us to substitute council tables for the battlefield we must parallel our effort towards world-stability with the purpose to maintain an effective strength that compels respect for our peaceful intent. Industrial development and atomic science left no limits to global conflict either in scope or destructive result."—(General Eisenhower, July 4.)**

So far, and particularly after the last Paris Conference, the Council tables are not encouraging as an alternative to war.

What has the Pacifist to offer, beyond his individual refusal to fight, for conscience sake? Is he to offer a coherent alternative on the political plane to the country's perplexed representatives? Would he withdraw all British troops from Palestine and other overseas possessions, as he has from Ireland, and proposes to do from India, and may do from Africa, leaving those lands to the anarchy of local gangsters and frenzied factions?

Will he similarly abjure the sanctions of force for our national police, in the event of Tonypandy riots, or hold-up of food stuffs which soldiers were required to convoy?

When he has experienced the privations of prisons, will he feel more easy to sanction cold-blooded force by the Police State than hot-blooded force by soldiers?

If he is more modest in his ambition and has no clear answer as to what Mr. Attlee should say or what Mr. Bevin should do in the actualities of Peace Conferences and Council tables, and has not convinced the electorate that his is a word of salvation that should be heard in Parliament, is he to sabotage the decisions of the elected representatives of that public opinion which, for all its fickleness, give a voice to those who have as much a right to be heard as his own?

The sabotage of military or majority machinery has long been practised in Ireland and in India through the boycott, civil-disobedience, hunger-strike and other devices.

A Welsh protest

In Wales, three men of standing and character suffered nine months hard labour for setting on fire an aerodrome in Carnarvonshire, which was an offence to many of their countrymen.

In England, one Campbell, a Communist, was arrested for inciting troops not to fight for a capitalist Government; because Ramsay Macdonald did not prosecute Campbell with sufficient zeal, his Government was censured in Parliament and fell, bringing down with it all the fabric of the Protocol and a score of good Socialist policies in domestic affairs.

Sabotage does not necessarily mean "coming down to brass tacks;" more literally it means using clogs for want of better weapons. When Mr. Gandhi urged the burning of manufactured cloth in his zeal for native homespun, it was his familiar friend "Christ's Faithful Andrews" who expressed his dismay at the spirit of hostility and senseless destruction. It was H. G. Wells who told us "It is an infallible sign of the natural man that he thinks he is united when he is united against something."

There is a lot of the "natural man" in India, as the riots show, and as the Working Committee of Congress revealed when they offered to co-operate with the Government in the war in exchange for the promise of independence.

In actual terms, the Committee of Congress by 95 votes to 47 passed the following resolution "The Working Committee declares that if these measures are adopted they would enable the Indian Congress to put its whole weight behind the effort effectively to organise the defence of the country."—(July 7, 1940.)

Events in India

As India has come to appear to many Pacifists as the *locus classicus* of the policy of non-violence it is well to ponder recent events and the latest word from Mr. Gandhi on the situation;

> **Mr. Gandhi, addressing a prayer meeting last night, feared that the division of India into two Dominions would lead to the formation of two armed camps, since there was to be no common defence with the division of the armed forces. He predicted a race for arms at the expense of nation building.—(Manchester Guardian, July 8, 1947.)**

From this statement it would appear that even Mr. Gandhi contemplated and preferred an all-Indian army with some semblance of unity to the present dis-unity with two armies. The wreck of his hopes of a United India based on non-violence as a policy reminds one that after the breakdown of the Indian Round Table Conference he resigned from the Presidency of Congress and begged those who believed as he did to return to their villages and there work for Hindu-Moslem unity, co-operation in agriculture and the uplift of the depressed classes. It appears once again that the Pacifist alternative to armed force in India must needs work through personality and not policy.

In India, non-violence stands for Gandhi in the minds of millions of peasants, and thousands of merchants, who may have no wish to follow the harder parts of his ethic into poverty, chastity, charity and fasting. In Britain we have no Gandhi, with a heroic and coherent example of life to embody a policy. If we repeat "Thou shalt not kill" as our dogma, are we conspicuous in keeping the rest of the Ten Commandments, or are we "compounding for the sins we are inclined to, by damning those we have no mind to?"

When Dick Sheppard founded the Peace Pledge Union, men were swift to support a personality whom they knew, rather than an alternative policy that they did not know. Nature abhors a vacuum, and human nature insists on embodying its principles in persons. For want of better, it will worship and obey Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin, and then smash its idols as a child breaks its dolls.

Policies and personalities

If we have no coherent alternative policy to offer those who may turn to Pacifists in their distress, have we alternative personalities, persons who live in a discernably other way than war, hostility and their causes? If humility or integrity forbids such a profession, have we our heroic personality whom we profess to follow in faith, however far behind be our following? Our leaders, Dick Sheppard, George Lansbury, Alex Wood, were clear in founding their Pacifism on the precept and example of Christ, on a uniting personality, not on united policy. To reverse this order, to prefer policy to personality, is to perpetuate the mind of war, and the unhappy divisions of Christendom.

The crux, the crisis, the confusion in most men's minds is somewhere here. Is Pacifism a denunciation of war, or an annunciation of a new way of life—which Victor Gollancz has not hesitated to call — repentance?

Repentance is neither popular nor policy, nor to be demanded even from Germans. It may not be demanded, but can be demonstrated in action, as Gollancz and the Friends are showing in Germany. The Manchester Guardian this week spoke of the "personal quality and human sympathy of Friend's work. If they cannot tackle it all, they will help whom they can."

The Power of Non-violence

From the U.S. pacifist journal, The Recorder, comes one of the many stories which American COs have to tell of their experiences when working under alternative service directions.

A C.O. worker in a mental hospital, on entering his usually quiet ward, saw two men struggling at the darkened end of the hall. Believing the two patients in trouble, he rushed up and calmly but firmly separated them. Upon asking the reason for the disturbance, he found himself looking into the eyes of an attendant who brooded no goodwill for conscientious objectors. The attendant blustered that the patient was unwilling to take his bath. Momentarily embarrassed because of his mistake in identity, the conscientious objector turned to the patient and suggested that he go up with him. The unwilling patient got up without hesitation and walked unprotestingly to the bathroom.

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, July 24, 1937

"We do not know if men like George Lansbury can influence the course of history, but it is certain that contact with him does one good, because it makes one feel more serene. His great sincerity appears beyond discussion."

So wrote the Italian newspapar, Tribuna.

At home, the Observer published a message from its Rome correspondent, declaring that the deep impression Mr. Lansbury created in all circles in Rome has not been realised in England.

* * *

. . . . cargoes of disused tramlines have been shipped from Ramsgate to Germany.

Ramsgate Councillor, J. T. Huddlestone wants the notice of the Government Departments concerned called to the situation. In a motion asking the Council to stop expenditure on air raid "precautions" he declared, "the necessity of precautions is made farcical and illusory by the present export of British steel scrap to Germany without let or hindrance."

Publications Received

Echo of the Himalayas, by Chowdry Akbar Khan. Oriental Books, London, 6s.

WITH India playing so vast and important a part in the political events of today, there has for some considerable time been the need for a short and comprehensive background history to the Indian scene.

Propaganda of a most false and virulent kind has for too long been responsible for the general misconception that the Indian people have always shown a lack of resistance to foreign invaders. This is a totally erroneous and false idea which can at once be discarded in the light of recorded facts, which are admirably presented by Chowdry Akbar Khan, in "Echo of the Himalayas."

He traces in outline the history of India, as seen from a national viewpoint, and strongly emphasises the fact that when the nations of the West were living in caves and dug-outs, and were not much better in mind and soul than the wild beasts whose skins they wore, the people of India were already giving serious thought to the study of almost every branch of science, and were highly developed in medicine and surgery. India is, in fact, the only representative of the oldest civilisation of the world, and has from the earliest time, produced great thinkers and eminent teachers.

Despite internal division, India is preparing to free herself from her imperialistic burdens, and strike out on her own. Her resources are so great that she can develop herself in every respect, in less time than any other country.

The author stresses India's immense economic importance since earliest times, both in the Ancient and Modern Worlds. He visualises India as the pivot of a vast federal union of the East, the boundaries of which would start from her Northern frontier, and would extend as far as Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, and the other islands of the Southern Pacific. All the countries included in the project would benefit equally, socially, economically and politically.

India would be the ideal centre of such a union. Today she is being born again, and it is not difficult to see how her ultimate salvation may mean the salvation of several other peoples.

* * *

LIGHT reading after the press reports of the Bevin-Bidault Paris Conference, but nevertheless interesting for its emphasis on mutual aid, "The Chances Are Even"* is the latest Phoenix Group pamphlet, and contains an outline of the work which the Group is doing.

It would be a pleasanter life if we could dismiss these various projects as piddling additions to the main stream of political activity, but unfortunately, things are not like that at all. Man is now separated from political responsibility by a screen of committees, commissions and forms of procedure which defeat all but the most single minded (and one-eyed) political campaigner.

This is a state of affairs which it is now fashionable to attribute to "The Managerial Revolution." But "The Chances Are Even" is more concerned with cure than with diagnosis. The plans it puts forward are small-scale and limited in conception, but they will fire the enthusiasm of some who are tired of repeating slogans, and reading manifestos.

* **"The Chances Are Even," price 4d., from Phoenix, 7, Noel Street, London, W.1.**

MUSIC AND DRAMA

Problems of the West — Art of the East

Edited by
ROGER PAGE

NOW showing in London, and soon to be released throughout the country, are two films which deal with some of the problems of post-war readjustment.

FRIEDA—which begins its story in 1945 before the war has ended—is described as the film that asks the question. Unfortunately the question is not fairly stated. For Robert, the escaped RAF PoW, to have married the German girl who helped him escape, bringing her straight back to his home town during the war, is admittedly a problem, and to pretend it need not be is over-idealistic. This basic situation, dramatic enough, is cluttered with irrelevant complications: Robert does not really love Frieda but has married her only out of gratitude, and the widow of Robert's brother sees her dead husband again in Robert. And Frieda, although she speaks English, evidently lost her vocal chords on the journey over, and is such heavy going that the Cheshire Cat would frown at her. But she is settling down nicely towards the end when suddenly her brother appears on the scene (with no adequate explanation as to why this proud and fierce Nazi should be in Polish army uniform) and the crisis is precipitated because one of the locals recognises him as a concentration-camp guard who inflicted a particularly nasty injury on the locals eye.

It was impossible to believe in much of this; people were tut-tutting all round me. For my part, I found it hard to sit through this pointless, witless, tasteless vulgar melodrama. It even stoops to the incredible vulgarity of using the Belsen news-reel for a cheap dramatic effect, and one lovely moment when Frieda adds her German singing to the English carollers is ruined because the same vulgarity breaks through, this moment being chosen for Robert's awakening to love.

Madly, staggeringly, stupendously, this film totally changes in the last minute or two; not in its manner, but in its matter, for it suddenly produces a moral, and it is all on the side of Frieda and the Germans. The impossible Nell says: "You can't treat human beings as less than human beings without becoming less than human yourself." On this note the film closes, but those peculiar people who see the back end of a film first will altogether lose it in the mass of anti-German sentiment.

THE BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES, which deals with the problem of "rehabilitation" (jargon !), is a different proposition entirely and can be recommended without reserve. There have been some criticisms of the use of an armless sailor, but I think them untenable, for every scene in which he appears is handled with great delicacy, and the psychology is dead right. He is the centre of an undressing scene which in interest and integrity is worth all the female unveiling that ever came from Hollywood or elsewhere.

The film goes on for more than three hours but never drags. It is beautifully acted and is sometimes best in its silences—watch Messrs. March and Andrews "hold" a long silence as they sit at a table. It also deals finely with "middle-aged" love, some of the best scenes being built round the affection of a couple with a grown family; the moment when the soldier-husband returns being perfectly handled.

It has great wit and humour, great charm, and some stock dramatic situations. It is not afraid to think, although it does not do so at very deep levels. Nor is it afraid to try tear jerking now and then. If you don't mind that, go and see the film; it cannot harm you and it may do you good.

ROGER PAGE.

* * *

A LONDON audience had the opportunity recently, of seeing a performance of Indian dancing of exceptionally high standard. The Indo-British Goodwill and Cultural Mission to India, which is in this country until September, was responsible for arranging the evening's entertainment. It was held at St. Pancras Assembly Hall, on July 3, and was attended by a mixed British and Indian audience.

Saran, the celebrated Indian dancer, who has only recently arrived in England, staged and executed the dances. He was brilliantly supported by Sita. In her varying costumes, she was like some lovely exotic flower. The faultless technique of Saran, who led all the dances, commanded the respect of the audience, but the exquisite movements of his partner, her charm and freshness, very quickly endeared her to their hearts. Especially delightful were the dances portraying Sujata's offering to Buddha, the fascinating Manipuri dance, and the gay traditional harvest folk-dance of Southern India.

Indian vocal and instrumental music interspersed the dances. Of special note was the violin solo, played by Mr. Rajani Lakhia. One is so used to regarding the violin as an instrument designed for European music, that the Oriental effect produced was as astonishing as it was beautiful.

The "veena" solo, given by Miss Kamala Vellodi was remarkable from one so young. The apparent ease with which her fingers dealt with the intricacies of this stringed instrument, intrigued the British members of the audience, most of whom had obviously never before seen or heard an Indian instrument.

The whole evening was perfectly delightful. It is indeed very heartening to know that some constructive effort is being made to strengthen cultural relations between India and Britain.

UMA RANI.

* * *

BENJAMIN BRITTEN'S new opera "Albert Herring" has been produced at Glyndebourne and has been almost universally acclaimed. Roy Johnson, in the Daily Express, has been a dissentient voice; in his view the opera failed in that it did not contain a tune which a man could whistle on the way to the bathroom. In our next feature we shall include a note about "Albert Herring" from a correspondent who does not write with this remarkable criterion in mind.

* * *

READERS will perhaps recall that Colin Horsley, the brilliant young New Zealand pianist, who is also a C.O., was a soloist in the 1946 Dick Sheppard Commemoration concert He is now on a brief return visit to his home country and a report reaches us from Wellington that his recital there and his concert appearances with the National Symphony Orchestra "have been received with the greatest enthusiasm by critics and public."

* * *

JAMES BRIDIE'S "The Sleeping Clergyman" has been revived and is at the Criterion Theatre. What a pleasure it is to see again a play with ideas and with real dramatic tension. Robert Donat enjoys himself and we enjoy his performance; Francis Lister gives a fine through-the-ages study. You should put this play well to the top of your list.

R. P.

NORWEGIANS RESIST MILITARISM

A protest against the establishment of a Home Guard in Norway, on the ground that the move is "an attempt to militarise the whole nation," has been made to the authorities by the Norwegian Good Templar Youth Association. (WP).

The value of JOHN SCANLON'S writings

THE death of John Scanlon is indeed a bitter blow to the pacifist and socialist movements. Having for some time delighted in his brilliant books, I was even more delighted when he began to write frequently for "Peace News." Here, I felt, was just the man who, as a regular contributor, could give PN that wider appeal to a working class public, which even its best friends admit that it lacks.

It is regrettable that so many pacifists appear to be unacquainted with his books, especially the earlier ones. Some people, no doubt, find his style too savage and merciless for their tastes. But if his writing is bitter, it is the bitterness of a man with a passionate sense of human dignity, and human values, who sees those values betrayed by men who profess to uphold them. And the biting wit that enlivens all his books leaves the reader helpless with exaggerated laughter, as often as it jolts him into a fresh realisation of the stupidity and futility of much so-called statesmanship.

A true son of the people himself, Scanlon never feared to denounce, in his own devastating way, any betrayal of the aspirations of the common people everywhere, in the fight against poverty and war. Characteristically, he prefaced his first book, "Decline and Fall of the Labour Party," with the words: "Few of the characters in this book are real people: they are mostly politicians." Destructive, perhaps, but the demolition of unsound structures, and the clearing away of rubble, are essential preliminaries to reconstruction.

First James Maxton, now John Scanlon. Perhaps it takes the shock and sadness of such losses as these to make us realise that we cannot rely on the old hands for ever. Scanlon wrote of Maxton in Peace News, that he was an intellectual who really understood the workers. With equal truth, it could be said of Scanlon that he was a worker who really understood the intellectuals. New recruits to the socialist and pacifist movements could serve a worse apprenticeship than that to be obtained by reading his works.

CYRIL HUGHES.

● News of COs in Britain and Holland

TO APPEAL AGAIN

HARRY J. HARRISON, a CO whose sentence of two years detention was suspended following the admission by the War Office of a court-martial error, appeared before his second court-martial on July 16. He was represented by Graham Wiggs, former secretary of the CBCO.

The following day a sentence of six months imprisonment was promulgated. This sentence will permit Harry Harrison to appear again before the Appelate Tribunal. It is to be hoped that this time the Appelate Tribunal will be convinced of his sincerity and allow him to be registered as a CO.

BOOKS FOR DUTCH COs

ONE hundred Dutch COs, whose objections have been recognised, have to spend three years in a work-camp in the province of Groningen.

Accommodation is scanty and no provision has been made for the spiritual welfare of these young men of 19 and 20 so an attempt is being made at founding a small library. A number of the COs read English and in consequence Dutch pacifists are asking their English friends for books, both fiction and non-fiction, philosophical and pacifist works being especially welcome.

Parcels should be sent to:

Rene Bink,
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How can politics be kept out?

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

production in the pre-war primary producing countries. Mexico, Sweden and India as well as Britain are among the countries which have recently cut down their imports of American goods. But it is highly significant that they are all prepared to import American machinery! The situation is made more urgent by the fact that America's phenomenal post-war production potential will not reach its maximum power until about the end of next year. In view of this prospective demand for new markets, we must expect the Marshall Plan to be hard business, hard economics and hard politics.

Politics and the plan

IN such facts as the above lie the reasons for Russia's withdrawal from the Paris Conference and the answer to Ernest Bevin's eager optimism re the non-intervention of politics in the Marshall Plan. But in the circumstances, how can politics be kept out? They may not be mentioned in the Plan, but they will be in it, as the propaganda by which the American public is to be won over to the Plan will show.

There has certainly been no hiding of politics in regard to the proposed American loan—£75,000,000 has been mentioned—to assist the recovery of the Ruhr, since it has been openly stated that America is opposed to any immediate socialisation or nationalisation of the mines. Moreover, the American grant of £20,000,000 to Turkey for military purposes, and the training by Americans of Greek troops, in guerilla warfare, with American arms, in order to defeat the Communist rebels, are politics with the lid off.

Britain and the plan

IT may well be asked, therefore, whether Britain can afford to crouch more closely under the American "economic" umbrella. Already the Marshall Plan has drawn her further into the vortex of Europe's ideological conflict, while Russia's withdrawal from the Plan has caused Mr. Bevin to over-emphasise its non-political character and so widen the breach between Britain and Russia. That course, in fact, has become the line of least resistance for any British Foreign Secretary today, but it may be fatal in the conditions of tomorrow. When it comes to America's economic and political need of world markets, Britain's financial and economic foundations will be at America's mercy.

Yet the fact must be faced that there is no alternative for Britain other than accepting the Marshall Plan, so long as she clings to the economy of the Industrial Revolution, now rapidly moving towards collapse.

Hidden fruits

WE are, in fact, just beginning to reap the hidden fruits of the policy of "unconditional surrender." It has now come our turn to surrender: we are to surrender those "standards of living" for which we have paid the price in a century of economic aggression and power politics; also more and more personal freedom to the State, and the State in its turn to the U.S.

It has taken two years to make even a superficial estimate of the war's economic damage in Europe, and to the world's food situation. Mankind is now at the mercy of the seasons and of a rapidly eroding soil for its food. In the years before the war there were large stocks of food up and down the world, although there was much poverty everywhere. Today there is infinitely more poverty; and there are no food stocks. Dare we remember where they have gone? Figures recently released by the Government report that 1,503 ships of the Royal Navy, of 959,757 tons displacement, and 2,426 merchant vessels (excluding fishing boats) with a gross tonnage of 11,331,933, were sunk. These are British losses. Then what of the total losses of all the belligerents? On every ship were considerable stocks of food, while in a very large number food was the sole or the main cargo. In those ships also were vast acreages of the world's finest hard timbers, in which there is now a serious shortage.

Age of destruction

THEN think of the rape of the earth from the over use of chemicals, and from monoculture during the war years, and even today owing to the continued food shortage, and the still greater rape of the "scorched earth" policy! Before 1939 millions of once fertile land had gone back to dust and sand in most of the great wheat growing countries, and today, under the Dictatorship of Necessity, the disastrous policy of soil bleeding must go on. We are living in an age in which the rate of destruction, even in the most fundamental things, exceeds the rate of production. And on the horizon are the shadows of the Third World War. So that if by great moral courage we save ourselves from this final catastrophe, it is a pretty grim future which awaits us, for remember, the population still grows rapidly in all the great agricultural countries.

What, in any event, I see coming is the complete breakdown of the economy of the Industrial Revolution. One of the unmistakable signs of that breakdown is the great new demand for world markets which America is going to make while yet requiring so few imports. Another is Britain's larger demand for markets in a world that is rapidly moving towards reasonably balanced economies everywhere.

Bevin's optimism

CONFRONTED with these facts I am nonplussed by Ernest Bevin's declaration to the Transport and General Workers' Union on July 17:

> "If the miners could place behind me as Foreign Secretary 30/40 million tons of coal a year, that would do more to put this dollar business right and make us independent of the dollar grip than anything else anybody could invent."

For the time being, yes, but not as a long term policy. We have in fact no alternative but to reconstruct our industrial order on new social foundations and new (or rather old and forgotten) values. We may begin that task now; but it cannot be long delayed if we are to survive.

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"OUR MORAL GAIN"

- Reginald Sorensen

MEMBERS and friends of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, from a wide area of Gloucester, Worcestershire and Herefordshire, gathered together at Tewkesbury on the 5th July for a Rally at which Reginald Sorensen, MP., and the Rev. Hampden Horne spoke on "India—Reconciliation between East and West?" Edwin Bigland was chairman of the meeting.

Reginald Sorensen said that it was a personal responsibility to work for reconciliation, and we should extend such responsibility into the wider community. The Government's decision to release itself from the domination of India is heartening. Britain has established a moral gain by realising that such domination is wrong. We should show an ever-increasing desire to assist India and demonstrate Christianity under freedom. The Indian Governments now had the further responsibility of achieving economic freedom for her peoples.

Hampden Horne referred to the very large peasant population in India, and suggested that whatever took place in Indian development must take into account the interests of the peasant population. There was a growing local activity in matters designed to improve the standard of country life. The urgent need in India to raise the standard of life was a need felt over most parts of the world.

India might be able to interpret West to East, in view of her knowledge of the West and her association with that part of the population of the USSR composed of Asiatic peoples.

"An advocate of the highest quality"

IN Bertram Hodgkins, who died on July 13, the cause of peace has lost an advocate of the highest quality.

The Rev. A. Bertram Hodgkins was a man of some intellectual attainments, a pupil and friend of Dr. Herbert Farmer and an M.A., both of Cambridge and Birmingham.

Before the war he was invited to take charge of a new Presbyterian Church on a Newcastle-on-Tyne Housing Estate, and Bertram, well liked especially by the young people, laid the foundations so well that St. George's, High Heaton, soon became a power in the district—to the great delight of its minister.

With the war, however, came the great dilemma, Bertram and his wife were both deeply convinced pacifists; Bertram had written a courageous letter to the Press challenging the conduct of the Newcastle C.O. Tribunal; he was closely associated with the High Heaton PPU Group and his convictions were well-known. Some of the church folk (perhaps a little coventional, it was a good class district), felt it wrong to hear such views from the Christian pulpit, and the choice became clear: either he must soft-pedal his pacifism and maintain a flourishing congregation or he must continue his witness to the sinfulness of war and watch the work of years crumble in his hands. It was Church or Christ, and Bertram knew where the greater loyalty lay. Ultimately he left St. George's, (how far he *had* to leave matters little).

As with Keir Hardie and many others, the disagreements of war were taking toll of his strength; his wife, May, had always been frail, and Bertram went to take charge of a country church in Northumberland. Suddenly he had a stroke and had to retire from active work of all kinds. Loyal Presbyterians in High Heaton helped to provide him with a little house, "Hartside View," at Alston, Cumberland, where he went to live. But his blood pressure was serious and another stroke followed.

When I saw him last May, Bertram was in bed. It was only a matter of time and he knew it.

No national figure has passed on, but in Bertram Hodgkins we have lost one of those great souls that can lift pacifism high above the other movements of our day. And many have lost a very dear friend.

DENIS HAYES.

LESSON TIME

I WISH to ask the Parliamentary Secretary to consider the system which operated in Germany prior to 1914 under the Kaiser. They called it the Einjähriges System" and it was an arrangement which allowed a student to serve half his time in the Armed Forces and to live in the city and continue his studies at the same time. I wonder if somehow or other such a system could not be applied to these cases so that these students could be serving their country and at the same time continuing their studies.

—Dr. M. Follick, M.P. in a recent Commons debate on Students and National Service.

GERMAN schoolteachers and toy manufacturers debating the influence of toys in education at a German cultural league conference in Hamburg are in favour of eliminating toy tanks, guns and soldiers from the nursery.

Delegates blamed lead soldiers, uniforms for children, toy rifles, model guns and submarines for encouraging militarism in their country.

—Birmingham Mail, 15/7/47

"PEACE PILGRIMAGE" TO SOVIET LEADERS

A "PEACE Pilgrimage" to see the leaders of the Soviet Union is being proposed to all sections of the World Youth Federalist Movement by the Student Movement for World Government.

"The failure of national governments to implement constructive proposals for World Peace," says a statement issued by the Student Movement for World Government from 20, Buckingham Street, W.C.2, "impells us to take the initiative and to attempt to persuade the leaders of the Soviet Union to allow their people to hear the case for World Government."

TRIBUTE TO DR. GILBERT MURRAY

UNESCO House in Paris is to receive a bronze bust of Dr. Gilbert Murray, OM, one of Britain's greatest scholars and internationalists.

Dr. Murray's admirers in Britain have offered to present his bust to UNESCO as a gift from this country and a lasting tribute to the life-long work for peace through education and international understanding upon which he is still actively engaged.

The Earl of Lytton is acting as Hon. Treasurer of the Presentation Fund, and contributions, which should not exceed one guinea, should be sent to him at the offices of the United Nations Association, 11 Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

PN STAFF AT YOUR SERVICE

IN order to help ease our present financial difficulties, three members of Peace News staff have generously agreed to seek other employment on two days out of every week.

Can you offer them a part-time job—or occasional work?

Their several abilities include music, drama and book criticism; free-lance reporting and feature-writing; shorthand-typing; book-keeping; switchboard-receptionist; children's help; general office work; and a willingness to adapt themselves to any worthwhile task for which they are suited.

Work may be undertaken here, at home, or elsewhere, and Peace News office is willing to consider undertaking agencies, distributive work or other commercial propositions not inconsistent with its own purpose which will provide income and part-time work for some of the staff.

Offers and suggestions of any kind will be gratefully accepted. Please write to the Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

HOSPITALITY WANTED

THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SERVICE is bringing over a large number of foreign students in the next six weeks and hospitality in British homes is urgently needed.

If you are able to offer one week or more between July 22nd and August 16th write to **I.S.S., 69, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, London, W.1.**

Guests, who may be Danes, French, Czechoslovaks, Austrians or Italians, will bring ration cards and if necessary expenses can be met.